

A
RELATION
OF THE MOST
Material Matters
HANDLED IN
PARLIAMENT:
RELATING TO
RELIGION, PROPERTY,
AND THE
LIBERTY
OF THE
SUBJECT.

With the Answers unto such *Addresses* as
were made unto His MAJESTY, in Order
to the Redressing the several *GRIEVANCES* Complain'd
of, and the *Behaviour* and *Carriage* of the Popish and French
Court Party.

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February the 6th. 1672.

THe Parliament, where notwithstanding His Majesty told them in his Speech, he would stand by his *Declaration of Indulgence*. Yet the Houie of Commons, Febr. 10. upon Reading it, Resolved,

That Penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended by an Act of Parliament. And

That a Humble Petition and Address upon this Vote, and the Debate of the House, be prepared to be presented to His Majesty, and a Committee appointed for that purpose.

But yet it a, peared that the Sence of the House was not against the Matter of Indulgence pretended to be Granted by that *Declaration to protestant Dissenters*, but the manner of doing it (whereby the King assumed to himself Power to Suspend Penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical, which they thought was of very dangerous Consequence, and might one day chance to Overthrow all our *Laws and Liberties.*) For Febr. 14. Resolved in the House of Commons, *Non* *contradicente.*

That a Bill be brought in for ease of His Majesties protestant Subjects that are Dissenters in matters of Religion from the Church of England. and the House to be in a Committee on Monday, to consider the Subject Matter of this Vote.

A Bill being drawn accordingly, received no great opposition in the House, but was looked upon by the Major part of the Members, as the onely means to keep Popery from flourishing in this Nation; and in time to expel that Religion, whose professors have in all Kingdoms and Nations, endeavoured by all ways Lawful and Unlawful, to establish their *Suspition*; and to that end and purpose, have troubled as they have had opportunity, the peace of the Christian World: And had now by their great Interest at Court, sufficiently strengthened (as they imagined and most honest men feared)

that party to the overthrow of the Protestant Interest, whereof I shall hereafter discourse a little more at large, when I come to the Prorogation of this Session, October the 20th. But now I return to the Petition and Address, touching the matter of Indulgence.

This Petition and Address being drawn and approved off, February the 19th. was presented to his Majesty in the Banqueting House by the whole House, which follows in these words:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majesties most Loyal and faithful Subjects, your Commons assembled in Parliament: do in the first place, as in all duty bound, return your Majesty our most humble and Hear-
" ty thanks, for the many gracious promises and assurances,
" Which your Majesty hath several times, during this present Parliament, given to us, That your Majesty would secure
" and maintain unto us, the true Reformed Protestant Religion,
" our Liberties and properties: Which most gracious affu-
" rance your Majesty hath out of your great goodness, been
" pleased to renew unto us more particularly at the open-
" ing of this present Session of Parliament.

"And further, we crave leave humbly to represent, that
" we have with all duty and expedition, taken into consider-
" ation, several parts of your Majesties late Speech to
" us; and withal, the Declaration therein mentioned, for In-
" dulgence to Dissenters: Dated the 15th of March last. And
" we find our selves bound to inform your Majesty, That
" Penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical, cannot be Suspen-
" ded but by Act of Parliament.

"We therefore the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of your Majesties House of Commons, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, That the said Laws may have their free course, until it shall be otherwise provided for, by Act of Parliament. And that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to give such Directions herein, That no apprehension or jealousies may remain in the Hearts of your Majesties good and faithful Subjects.

His

His Majesty was not a little concerned at this proceeding (It being so far from the former course of that House to do any thing against the Kings Inclination.) But the more because of his Resolution express in his Speech at the opening of this Session, to stand by his Declaration ; and therefore would not remit that pretended Power of dispensing with Laws relating to the establishment of Religion ; and for that Reason delayed to answer the Petition and Address : But the House pressing by the Privy Councillers that were Members (according to a Vote of the 22d. of February) for an Answer thereunto ; his Majesty upon mature deliberation returned by Mr. Secretary Coventry. February the 24th. this Answer :

C. R.

His Majesty hath received an Address from you which he hath seriously considered of, and returneth you this Answer, That he is much troubled, that that Declaration which he put out for ends so necessary to the quiet of the Kingdom ; and especially in that Conjunction, should have proved the cause of disquiet in the House of Commons, and have given occasion to question his power in Ecclesiasticks, which he finds not done in the Reigns of any of his Ancestors. And he is sure he never had thoughts of using it otherwise then as it has been entrusted in him to the Peace and Establishment of the Church of England, and to the ease of all his Subjects in general ; Neither doth he pretend to the right of suspending any Laws, wherein the properties, Rights, or Liberties of his Subjects are concerned ; nor to alter any thing in the Established Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of England.

The only design of this was to take off the penalties the Statutes inflict upon Dissenters, and which he believes when well considered of you, your selves would not wish exercised according to the Rigour and Letter of the Law.

Neither hath he done this with thought of avoiding or precluding the Advice of his Parliament. And if any Bill shall be offered him which shall appear more proper to attain the aforesaid

said ends, and secure the Peace of the Church and Kingdom; when rendered in due manner to him, he will shew how ready he will be to concur in all ways, that shall appear good for the Kingdome.

The thanks of the House was returned to his Majesty for his Gracious assurances and promises, but the Answer being not as they thought satisfactory, his Majesty seeming to justify his proceeding in that affair, they resolved to make a Reply therenuo, and thereby secure both Law and property.

Which endured some Debate, wherein was related a passage in a Speech of his Majesties, of February, 1662. to both Houses of Parliament (when other Counsells were prevalent with his Majesty) whereby he wisteth that he had such power in matters Ecclesiastical, as he claimes to give by this Declaration; which passage is as followeth:

If the Dissenters will demean themselves peaceably and modestly under the Government: I could heartily wish I had such a power of Indulgence to use upon occasion, as might not needly force them out of the Kingdome, or staying here give them cause to conspire against the peace of it.

February, the 27th.

The Commons Reply to the Kings Answer, as followeth:

Most Gracious Sovereign.

WE your Majesties most humble and Loyal Subjects, The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in this present Parliament assembled; do render your Sacred Majesty, our most dutiful thanks, for that to our unspeakable comfort, your Majesty hath been pleased so often to reiterate unto us those gracious promises and assurances, of maintaining the Religion now Established and the Liberties and properties of the people. And we do not in the least measure doubt, but that your Majesty had the same

“ same gracious intentions, in giving Satisfaction to your Subjects, “ by your Answer to our last Petition and Address; yet upon serious consideration thereof, we find that the said Answer is not sufficient to clear the apprehensions that may justly remain in the minds of your People, by your Majesties having claimed a power to suspend Penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical, and which your Majesty doth still seem to assert in the said answer, to be intrusted in the Crown and never questioned in the Reigns of any of your Ancestors; wherein we humbly conceive your Majesty hath been very much misinformed, since no such thing was ever claimed or exercised by any of your Majesties Predecessors; and if it should, might tend to the interruption of the free course of the Laws, and the altering of the Legislative Power, which hath always been acknowledged to reside in your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament.

“ We therefore with unanimous consent, do become again most humble Suiters to your Sacred Majesty, That you will please to give us a full and Satisfactory Answer, to our said Petition and Address; and that your Majesty will take such effectual Order, that the proceeding in this matter, may not for the future be drawn into Consequence or Example.

Whereunto his Majesty gave this Answer for the present, That indeed this was of consequence, and he would take it into consideration.

By this, finding that the House would not rest Satisfied with his first Answer, but expected a Disclaimer of his Assumed power, to dispence with Laws in matter of Religion; he had Repair to those Counsellors that advised him to Attempt what was so Distasteful to that House, who finding such great Opposition from those that must Furnish them with Money to carry on the present War, and knowing unless they made them some colourable Disclaimer, the Money Bill would not pass: Advised his Majesty as a fit means to put an end to the Controversie, to App'y himself to the Lord's, thereby seeming not to Recede from his pretended Right, and yet willing to do something plausible, by making that House Parties and Judges of the Difference, and thereupon—

March.

March, 1. 1672. His Majesty made this following Speech to the House of Lords.

My Lords, You know that at the Opening of this Session, I spoke here to your Satisfaction, it hath notwithstanding gotten a greater Disquiet in the House of Commons, then I could Imagine. I have received an Address from them, which I looked not for, and made them an Answer, which ought to have contented them: But on the contrary, they have made such a Reply, of such a Nature, that I cannot think fit to proceed any further in this Matter, without your Advice.

I have Commanded my Lord Chancellor to Acquaint you with all the Transactions, wherein you will find Me and your selves highly concerned. I am sensible of what Relates to my Self: And I assure you, my Lords, I am not less for your Priviledg, and the Honour of this House.

By this means, the Lords (that medled not before) became as it were Interested in the Matter above Recited. And took the Kings Application unto them for their Advice, as such an extraordinary Favour, that the same day they shewed their Gratitude, by presenting him their humble Thanks, in these words: *We the Lords spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, do unanimously present your Sacred Majesty our most humble Thanks, for having been pleased to Communicate unto us, what hath passed between your Majesty and the House of Commons; whereby your Majesty hath Graciously offered the Means of shewing our Duty to your Majesty, and of Asserting the Ancient Just Rights and Priviledges, of the House of Peers.* Whereunto the King returned this Answer:

“ My Lords, I take this Address of yours very kindly, and will always be Affectionate to you, and I expect that you shall Stand by me, as I will always by you. Yet notwithstanding these sweet words, it was the next day only Resolved: That the Kings Answer to the House of Commons, in referring the Points now Controverted to a Parliamentary Way by Bill, is Good and Gracious, that being a Good and Natural Course for Satisfaction therein. This Vote seemed to them the fittest Means to Reconcile the Matters Controverted,

troverted, it neither determining one way or other, as to the rig
of the matter in Debate; And yet for all this, the Commons
receded not from their first purpose of settling the power claim-
ed by the King on it's old Foundation, as you shall see here-
after.

In the mean time, whil'st this was in agitation in the House
of Lords, the Commons taking notice of the extraordinary in-
crease of Popery and prevalency of that Faction at Court; who
had so powerfully managed their Interest as to procure ver-
y many places of great trust and profit, conferred on men ei-
ther professed Papists, or surely obliged to their party, feared,
and not without Grounds: The Ruine of the Protestant Interest
might perchance take its Birth from hence, especially considering
that at that time, the *United Netherlands* were almost (in the eye
of the World) Ruined by the Victorious *French*, and three of
the Seven Provinces totally Conquered the last Summer. And
the Most *Christian King*, coming into the Field with a powerful
Army not only to defend what he had gotten the last year, but to
Conquer the Residue: And besides this, two Royal Fleets pre-
pared (the one by his Majesty, the other by the *French King*)
to Attack them by Sea and Land, as opportunity should serve;
made many people imagine the *Dutch* upon their last Legs, and
consequently this Nation in a tottering Condition, both as to
Religion and property; so that an absolute necessity obliged
the Commons to shew then (if ever) what they could do, to-
wards the removal thereof. And therefore *March* the 3d. agreed
to an Address, to be presented to his Majesty for Suppreffion of
Popery; whereunto the Lords Concurrence was desired, and af-
ter a Conference obtained, the Address was presented to his Ma-
jesty in the Banqueting House, *March* the 7th. which is as fol-
loweth.

Most Gracious Sovereign.

"We your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, the Lords and
"Commons, in this present Parlement assembled, being
"sensible of the great dangers and mischiefs may arise in
"this your Majesties Realm, by the encrease of Popish
"Recusants amongst us; and considering the great Rehort
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of *Jesuits* and *Priests* into this Kingdome, who daily en-
 deavour to Seduce your Majesties Subjects from their
 Religion and Allegiance; and how much your Loyal Sub-
 jects are disheartened to see such *Popish Recusants* ad-
 mitted into Employments of great trust and profit, and
 especially into *Militairy Commands*, over the Forces
 now in your Majesties Service; and having a tender re-
 gard to the preservation of your Majesties person, and
 the peace and tranquillity of this Kingdome, we in all
 humility desire,

That your Majesty would be pleased to issue out your Royal *Proclamation*, to Command all *Priests* and *Jesuits*,
 (other then such as not being *Natural Born Subjects* to
 your Majesty, are oblieged to attend upon your Royal
Consort the Queen) to depart within thirty days, out
 of this your Majesties Kingdome; and if any *Priest* or
Jesuit, shall happen to be taken in *England*, after the
 expiration of the said time, that the *Laws* shall be put
 in due execution against them.

And that your Majesty would be pleased in the said Pro-
 clamation to Command all *Judges*, *Justices of the Peace*,
Mayors, *Burgesses* and all other Officers, to put the said
Laws in Execution accordingly. That your Majesty
 would likewise be pleased that the *Lord Chancellor of Eng^{land}*
 shall at or before the 5th. day of *March* instant, issue
 out *Commissions of Distrim^{on} Potestat^m*, to the *Judge*
Advocate, and *Commissaries of Musters*, and such other
 persons as he shall think fit (not being Officers com-
 manding *Souldiers*) to tender the *Oath of Allegiance*
 and *Supremacy*, to all Officers and *Souldiers* now in
 your Majesties Service and Pay; and that such as re-
 fuse the said *Oaths*, may be immediately disabled and
 not allowed or continued in any Pay or Pension. And
 that the *Chancellor* shall require due returns to be made
 thereof within some convenient time, after the issuing
 out of these *Commissions*.

That the *Commissaries of the Musters* be commanded and
 enjoyed by your Majesties *Warrant*, upon the Penal-
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" ty of loosing their places, not to permit any Officer
 " to be Mustered in the Service and pay of your Majesty,
 " untill he shall have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and
 " Supremacy, and receive the Sacrament of the Lords
 " Supper, according to the usage of the Church of Eng-
 " land ; and that every Souldier by Law shall take the
 " said Oaths before his first Muster, and receive the Sa-
 " crament in such manner before his Second Muster.
 " And this we present in all dutifullness to your most princely
 " Wisdom and consideration, as the best means for the
 " Satisfying and composing the minds of your Loyal Sub-
 " jects ; Humbly desiring your Majesty graciously to ac-
 " cept of this our Petition as proceeding from Hearts
 " and Affections, intirely devoted to your Majesties Ser-
 " vice, and to give it your Royal Approbation.

Whereunto his Majesty was pleased to return this Answer :

My Lords and Gentlemen,
 I do heartily agree to the matter of your Address, and shall give
 speedy order to put it in Execution ; but hope it was not meant
 in the parts thereof, that it should extend to the Forces im-
 mediately to be employed beyond the Seas.

This proceeding of the Parliament, was thought by all good
 men of great Consequence ; and the Nation began to look upon
 them as their deliverers (under God) from Popery and Slavery.

The Kings Answer pleased too the Major part, though the most Intelligent questioned the performance thereof, knowing there was very little Security in his Majesties Promises and Engagements, so long as that party which perswaded and advised his Majesty to such pernicious Designs, that had set the World in such a Combustion, contrary to the Interest of his Majesty and the Kingdom, were so prevalent and had the Ascendant in all his Councils. And also the time was a considerable Motive to make all men doubt. The Comoners being at that time upon the point of giving his Majesty a considerable Supply, which was held back and retarded by the honest party, till they should if they could, remove and

Redress the Grievances then complained of; and in Truth they were not far out in their Calculations; for no sooner was the Money Bill passed, and the Parliament thereupon Adjourned, but old Councils were reassumed and pursued with as great Ardor and more Art than before, and few or none of the Matters and Grievances Complained of, Removed or Redressed; as shall in it's proper place be made manifest. But to Return,

March, 8. The House of Commons attended his Majesty in the House of Lords, where he was Graciously pleased to give them a new Assurance of his performing their desires in all things, and furthermore a positive and Satisfactory Answer to the House of Commons Reply, concerning the Declaration of Indulgence, for want whereof the Money Bill was then at a stand: Whereby at that time it seemed to be done rather upon an absolute Necessity of having the Money, then with an Intention to Satisfie the Nation in real performances. His Majesties Speech is as followeth,

Mr. Lords and Gentlemen,

“ Yesterday you presented me with an Address as the best means
“ for the Satisfying and Composing the Minds of my Sub-
“ jects, which I freely and readily agreed to, and shall take
“ care to see it performed accordingly.

" I hope on the other side, you Gentlemen of the House of
" Commons will do your part, for I must put you in mind
" it is near 5 weeks since I demanded a Supply; and what you
" Voted unanimously upon it, did both give Life to my Af-
" fairs at Home, and disheartned mine Enemies abroad. But
" the seeming delay it hath met with since, has made them
" take new Courage: And they are now preparing for the
" next Summer a greater Fleet, as they say, then ever they
" had yet. So that if the Supply be not speedily dispatched,
" it will be altogether Ineffectual. And the Safety, Honour,
" and Interest of *England*, must of necessity be Exposed.
" Pray lay this to heart, and let not the Fears and Jealousies
" of some, draw an inevitable Ruine upon us all.

Mi Lords and Gentlemen,

" If there be any Scruple yet remaining with you concerning the
" Suspension

“ Suspension of penal Laws, I here faithfully promise you
 “ that what hath been done in that particular, shall not for
 “ the Future, be drawn either into Consequence or Example.
 “ And as I daily expect a Bill from you for my Supply, So I
 “ assure you, I shall as willingly receive and pa’s any other
 “ you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving Satisfaction
 “ in all your just Grievances.

This was full, and to the purpose ; but yet fearing that not to be satisfactory to the Commons, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* by command of his Majesty informed the House that his Majesty had ordered the Declaration of Indulgence to be Vacated, and that he saw the Seal taken off accordingly, and to the same purpose my Lord Chancellor acquainted the House of Peers.

These proceedings were so pleasing to the Parliament, that both Houses concurred in returning Thanks to his Majesty for his most Gracious, Full, and Satisfactory Answer to their humble Petitions and Addresses, and the same day attended him therewith at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon in the Banqueting House, whereunto his Majesty was pleased to return this Gracious Answer ensuing :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I hope there will never be any more Difference amongst us, I
 “ assure you there shall never be any occasion on my part.

You see here are more and more assurances, which yet are not enough, as the Sequel will declare.

By this means the Court thought to have had their En's, as to Money, answered with what Celerity the Parliament cou'd : But yet the Money Bill went not on faster, then that for Suppression of the growth of *Popery*, which controled the Statesmen's greatest Designs, as appeared by my Lord Treasurers Speech in the House of Lords, whose Expressions were so Bitter and Malicious against the Act last mentioned : That it produced several Speeches against his Lordship, in order to Impeach him of High Treason, which had certainly at that time been Effectuated, had not some of the Members betrayed the design in not giving their Assistance therein, according to their so'lemn promises and Engagements.

But

But the House of Commons were not altogether satisfied with his Majesties Gracious Answer to the Two Petitions and Addresses, and therefore resolved to proceed further, and to attempt the Redressing of all Grievances whatsoever. Amongst which, finding by frequent Complaints that *Ireland* was likely to be Over-run with Popery, to the Overthrow of the *English* Interest there, and having his Majesties Letter of the 26th. of *February*, 1671. and the Proclamation thereupon produced, whereby general License was given to all Papists to live in Corporations, and exercise their Trades there, and to enjoy the same Priviledges as other his Majesties Subjects ought to do, without any distinction; and several other Letters and Proclamations to the prejudice of the *English*, and advancing of the *Irish* Interest; they thought that this was the ready way to bring the *English* there to utter Ruine, and expose their Throats once more to the *Irish* mercy: And therefore *March* 18. the House of Commons resolved,

“ That an Address be presented to his Majesty, representing the
 “ State and Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the
 “ danger of the *English* Protestant Interest there; and that
 “ Mr. *Richard Talbot*, be inserted in the Address as a Papist,
 “ and not capable of any Command or Employment, either
 “ Military or Civil, and that he be not admitted any Access
 “ to the Court.

And at the same time Ordered another Address to be drawn, wherein several Grievances of this Kingdom were to be presented, which shall be hereafter related at large; That the Reader may the better discern the several Matters complained of.

The Court at these proceedings was in great Indignation, fearing that if the Parliament should be permitted to Sit long, they might chance fall upon the Advisers and Promoters of these Grievances, and punish them according to their Demerits, to prevent thereby such destructive Councils for the future; and therefore sent Mr. *Secretary Coventry* *March* 20. to acquaint the House, *That his Majesty intended a Rece's on the 27th. then instant.* But this not taking such Effect as was desired, *March* 24. a Writing under his Majesties Hand was sent to the House of Commons by the same Secretary, which here In-
 fues.

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“ **J** Am commanded by his Majesty in pursuance of his late
 “ Message, to acquaint you that his Majesty intends you
 “ shall Rife before *Easter*, and therefore expects an Expe-
 “ dition of such Bills as are most of Importance, the Bill of
 “ Popery, and that of Supply particularly; and for such
 “ other Bills as concern either the Publick or Particular, and
 “ cannot be so soon ready; that they may not receive a Dis-
 “ appointment, his Majesty resolves to make this an Adjourn-
 “ ment till the beginning of *October*, when you may continue
 “ their prosecution; and in the mean time his Majesty will
 “ take such care of the Protestant Religion, as you shall
 “ have no cause to complain.

At the Court at White Hall,
March, 24. 1672,

Notwithstanding which, as well the several Addresses, as the Bill for Suppression of Popery kept pace with the Money Bill, which if assed first, the House feared they should be Prorogued the same day, and all other Matters before them would thereby receive an absolute Dissolution.

March, 26. The House attended his Majesty with the seve-
 ral Addresses here Ensuing.

*Wee your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, the Commons in
 Concern-
 ing Ireland. this present Parliament Assembled, taking into Consider-
 ration the great Calamities, which have formerly befallen
 to your Majesties Kingdom of Ireland, by the Popish Recusants
 there, who for the most part are profest Enemies to the Protestant
 Religion, and English Interest. And how they making ill use
 of your Majesties Disposition and Clemency, are at this time
 grown more Insolent and Presumptuous then formerly, to the
 apparent Danger of that Kingdom, and your Maj.ties Pro-
 fessians Subjects there; the Consequence thereof may likewise prove
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very fatal to this Kingdom of England, if not timely prevented: And having seriously weighed what Remedies may be most properly Applied to these growing Distempers, do in all Humanity present your M-^{aje}sty with these our Petitions.

That for the quieting and establishing the possessions of your Majesties Subjects in that Kingdom, your M-^{aje}sty would be pleased to maintain the *Act of Settlement*, and *Explanatory Act* therupon; and to recall the *Commission of Inquiry* into Irish affairs, bearing Date the 17th. of January last, as containing many new and extraordinary powers not only to the prejudice of particular persons, whose Estates and Titles, are thereby made liable to be questioned. But in a manner to the overthrow of the said *Acts of Settlement*. And if pursued may be of great Charge and Attendance to many of your good Subjects in Ireland, and shake the Peace of the whole Kingdome.

That your M-^{aje}sty would give Order, That no Papist be either continued or admitted to be a Commander or a Soldier in that Kingdome: And that because the Irish Papists have furnished themselves with great quantities of Arms: That your M-^{aje}sty would please to give Directions so to Dis-arm them, that they may not be dangerous to the Government there; and that their Arms may be brought into the publick Magazees.

That the like Order may be given, That no Papist be continued, or hereafter admitted to be Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Governors, Majors, Sovereigns, or Port-reeves in that Kingdome.

That the Tuynlar Arch Bishops, Bishops, Vicars General Abbots, and all others exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the Popes Authority: and in particular Peter Talbot, presented Arch Bishop of Dublin, for his notorious Disloyalty to your M-^{aje}sty, and Disobedience and Contempt of your Laws, may be commanded by Proclamation, forthwith to depart out of Ireland, and all other your M-^{aje}sties Dominions; or otherwise to be prosecuted according to Law. And that all Convents, Seminaries, and publick Schools, may be dissolved and suppress; and the Regular Priests be commanded to depart under the like Penalty.

That no Irish Papist be admitted to inhabit in any Corporation of that Kingdome, unless duly Licensed according to the aforesaid

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said Act of Settlement. And that your Majesties would be pleased to recall your Letter of the 26th of February, 1671. and the Proclamation thereupon; whereby General Licence is given to such Papists to inhabit in Corporations there.

That your Majesties Letter of the 28th of September, 1672.

And the Order of Council thereupon; whereby your Majesties Subjects are required not to prosecute any Actions against the Irish, for any wrongs or injuries committed, during the late Rebellion, may likewise be recalled.

That Colonel Richard Talbot, who hath notoriously assumed to himself, the Title of Agent to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, be dismiss'd immediately out of all Commands, either Military or Civil, and forbidden all access to your Majesties Court.

That your Majesty would be pleased from time to time, out of your Princely Wisdom, to give such further Orders and Directions to your Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor for the time being, as may most conduce to the encouragement of the English Planters, and the Protestant Interest there, and the suppression of the Insolencies and Disorders of the Irish Papists.

These our humble desires we present to your Majesty, as the best means to preserve the peace and safety of that your Kingdom; which hath been so much of late endangered by the practices of the Irish Papists, and particularly of the said Richard and Peter Talbot. And we doubt not but that your Majesty will find the happy effects thereof, to the great satisfaction and security of your Majesties Person and Government; which of all earthly things is most dear to us, your Majesties most Loyal and Obedient Subjects.

The Address concerning Grievances

We your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled; conceiving our selves bound in necessary Duty to your Majesty, in Discharge of the Trust reposed in us; truly to inform your Majesty of the Estate of this your Kingdom; and though we are abundantly satisfied that it hath always been your Royal Will and pleasure, that

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your Subjects should be Governed according to the Laws and Customes of this your Realme ; yet finding that contrary to your Majesties intentions, some Grievances and Abuses are crept in, and crave leave humbly to represent them to your Majesties knowledge, and to desire,

That the Imposition of 12d. a Chaldron upon Coals, for the providing of Convoyes ; by Virtue of an Order of Council, Dated 15th. of May, 1672. may be recalled and all Bonds taken by Virtue thereof cancelled.

That your Proclamation of the 4th. of December, for prevention of Disorders, which may be committed by Souldiers ; and whereby the Souldiers now in your Majesties Service, are in a manner exempted from the ordinary course of Justice, may likewise be recalled.

And whereas great Complaints have been made out of several parts of this Kingdome, of divers abuses committed in Quartering of Souldiers : That your Majesty would please to give Order, to redress these Abuses, and in particular, That no Souldier hereafter be Quartered upon any private Houser, and that due satisfaction may be given to the Innkeepers, and Victualers, where they lye before they Remove. And since the continuance of Souldiers in this Nation, will necessarily produce many inconveniences to your Majesties Subjects ; we humbly present it as our Petition and Advice, that when this War is ended ; All the Souldiers that have been raised since the last Session of Parliament, may be disbanded.

That your Majesty would likewise be pleased to consider of the irregularities and Abuses in pressing Souldiers. And to give Order for the prevention thereof for the future.

And although it hath been the course of former Parliaments, to desire redress in their Grievances, before they proceed to give a Supply ; yet we have so full assurance of your Majesties tenderness and Compassion towards your People, that we humbly prostrate our selves at your Majesties Feet, with these our Petitions ; desiring your Majesty to take them into your Princely Consideration ; and to give such Order for Relief of your Subjects, and the removing those Pressures, as shall seem best to your Royal wisdome.

To both which Addresses his Majesty made this Answer,
by Mr. Speaker.

" That he observed the Addresses consisted of several different
" parts, and therefore it could not be expected there
" should be a present Answer, but for the several parti-
" cular things contained in them, he would before the
" next meeting, take such effectual care that no man should
" have Reason to Complain.

With which the House thought themselves and the Nation so well secured, that the next day they Voted their humble Thanks to be presented unto his Majesty, for his Gracious Answers to their several Addresses, and in particular, for his last Gracious Message; and for the care he hath declared he would take of the Protestant Religion: And so the Money Bill, and the Bill for the Suppression of the Growth of popery, were willingly passed, and obtained the Royal Assent at the same time; and thereupon the parliament was Adjourned, till the 20th of October, following.

This last Act, with his Majesties Gracious assurances before related; were esteemed by some a sufficient defence to the protestant Religion, and the Liberties and properties of the Subject.

But notwithstanding all these seeming probabilities of assurance, the *Clifforian* and *French* Designs, were carried on in the Interceal of this Session, in as pernicious though different manner from their first Design, whose Method they were forced to change, by reason that the Act of parliament for the Suppression of the Growth of popery, was so made that it executed it self; and the means of introducing that Religion seeming then at a stand, they thought of a new project, that in probability might not receive so great opposition nor attract that envy as the preferment of the papists in several great Offices and places of Trust had done, yet the same ends might be more certainly and easily though possibly not so soon obtained. And to this end, a Marriage between his Royal Highness, and the princess of *Modena*, Sister to the present Duke thereof, was proposed; and the better to advance the same, and make the Match appear more considerable; his Most Christian Majesty had declared her an Adopted Daughter of

France, and would give her a portion suitable thereunto ; which Match was concluded without any great difficulty, by the Earle of Peterborough ; and afterward Confirmed by the same person, by his Majesties Royal Consent and Authority ; according to the Form used among princes (as his Majesty was pleased to express it.)

Hereupon the *popish* and *French* party were grown extremely insolent, having in most mens Judgments received a less check from the late Act of Parliament, then encouragement from the Marriage.

But before her Highness could arrive in *England*, the Advisers of this Marriage perceived that the twentieth of *October* would come, and that it might probably receive some Obstructions from the Parliament, and that some other things contriv'd at their meeting in *March* before, to their prejudice ; might chance in a short time to be perfected : and therefore ordered it so that the parliament should be prorogued till the 27th of the same *October*, whereby an end should be put to that Session, and all the business then unperfected fall to the Ground, contrary to his Majesties Gracious Assurances, and promises, in *March* last, proposing these Consequences as certain First, Thereby to prevent and remove from his Majesty all Temptations to break the intended Marriage, and the *French* Alliance, knowing that the Parliament would use their utmost endeavours, to prevent the Consummation of that marriage ; which was likely to render both the *popish* Religion and the *French* Alliance Impregnable.

Secondly, Considering that a Bill of Ease for protestant Dissenters (whereby twas intended that the major part of them should have Liberty of Conscience, and be capable of Church preferment) had passed the House of Commons, and had been sent up to the Lords in *March* before, where it then remained ; and would not long stick there (as they feared) before it should obtain the Royal Assent ; which if once effected, They did imagine and foresee that this uniting of Interests, would tend greatly to the suppression of *popery* ; and consequently, no hopes of replanting thereof in this Nation. But if they could by any means whatsoever prevent the passing of that Bill, they doubted not, notwithstanding all the Parliament could do, to be safe amongst

amongst so many *Dissenters*, and strive on their Designs underhand, for the Ruine and Destruktion of all parties but their own.

Thirdly, and Lastly, Their chief Design was to incite a Difference and Jealousie between the King and Parliament, whereby (if all other Devices fail) they hope by the help of *French Forces* to Introduce Popery into this Nation, and with it Arbitrary Government, which last they have by all Arts imaginable cried up as the best Government; but at the same time deny it to be practicable here, unless Popery precedes, or comes in with it. But to proceed.

This was not so closely carried but the Parliament had notice thereof, and the House of Commons hoping to prevent the Mischiefs that might arise from this Match, Voted *October* the 20th. (before they were Prorogued) That the privy Councillors of the House should present an Addres to his Majesty, whereby he should be desired to put an Effectual stop to the Confirmation thereof; which was done accordingly, though not to that purpose as it was hoped, as I shall presently shew.

According to the time of Adjournment, *October* the 27th. the Parliament Assembled; where his Majesty made this following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Thought this day to have Welcomed you with an honourable Peace, my preparations for the War, and conditions at the Treaty, gave me great reason to believe so.
 " But the *Dutch* have disappointed me in that Expectation, and
 " have Treated my Embassadors at *Cologne*, with the Con-
 " tempts of Conquerors, and not as might be expected from
 " men in their Condition: They have other thoughts than
 " Peace.
 " This obligeth me to move you again for a Supply, the Safety
 " and Honour of the Nation, necessarily requiring it: It
 " must be one proportionable to the Occasion, and I must
 " tell you besides, that if I have it not speedily, my Mischief
 " will be irreparable in my preparations for the next Spring.

" The

“ The great Experience I have had of you Gentlemen of the
 “ House of Commons, will not suffer me to believe, that
 “ the Artifices of our Enemies can possibly Divert you from
 “ giving me this Supply, or that you can fail of Adjusting
 “ the proportion of it.

“ I hope I need not use many words to persuade you, that I am
 “ Steady in maintaining all the Professions and Promises I
 “ have made you, concerning Religion and Property. And
 “ I shall be very ready to give you fresh Instances of my Zeal
 “ for preserving the established Religion and Laws, as often
 “ as any Occasion shall require.

“ In the last p'ace, I am highly concerned to commend to your
 “ consideration and care the Debt I owe the Goldsmiths, in
 “ which very many other of my good Subjects are Involved.
 “ I heartily recommend their Condition to you, and desire
 “ your assistance for their Relief.

“ There is more that I would have you Informed off, which I
 “ leave to the Lord Chancellor.

This Speech being ended, and the House of Commons Assembled
 in their own House, the consideration thereof (such vast Sums of
 Money being thereby demanded, as the Nation was unable, and the
 House thought not safe to give) was Adjourned till Friday, and the
 House Adjourned till Thursday following; at which time the House
 being met, Mr. Secretary Coventry brought the Answer ensuing, to
 the Address against the Match.

Answer C. R.

That his Majesty having received an Address from the House of
 Commons, presenting their humble desire that the intended
 Marriage between his Royal Highness and the Princess of
~~Modena~~⁴ may not be Consummated, commanded this An-
 swer to be returned. “ That he perceived the House of
 Commons wanted a full Information of this Matter, the
 “ Match being not barely Intended, but Compleated accord-
 “ ing to the Form used amongst Princes, by his Royal Con-
 “ sent and Authority. Nor could he in the least suppose it
 “ to be disagreeable in the House of Commons, his Royal
 “ Highness having been in View of the World for several
 “ Months

"Months ingaged in Treaty of Marrying with another Catholick Princess, and yet a Parliament held during that time, and not the least Exception taken of it.

With this Answer the House were not satisfied, and were resolved not to give over the Defence of our Religion and Liberty at such an easie Rate, esteeming this Frenchified Match of far greater danger then the proposed Marriage with the Dutches of *In pruck*, hinted in the Answer, was at that time of the Treaty thercof, if it should have taken effect; for then the Religion of his Royal Highness was unknown to most of the Nation, he having since that time refused the Tests provided in the late Act of Parliament for surpressing of Popery: And besides the House of *Austria* (whereof she was) did not then appear to be in a capacity to affit so powerfully the propagation of that Religion, as the *French* at this time did: And therefore the House Voted another Address with Reasons against the Marriage, and the same day Voted, That a Bill should be prepared for a General Test betwixt Protestants and Papists, and that those that Refused to take it shou'd be incapable of bearing any Office Millitary or Civil, or to Sit in Parliament, or come within five Miles of the Court. By this Vote the chief Designs of the *Popish* and *French* party were intended to be disappointed; but they ordered their Affairs so that they soon Evaded it.

Friday, October 31. the House in a Grand Committee, upon as serious Debate as ever was known there before, took into consideration his Majesties Speech, and resolved,

That the House considering the present condition of the Nation, will not take into any further Debate, or Consideration, any Aid, or Supply, or Charge upon the Subject, before the time of payment of the 18 Months Assessment granted by a late Act of Parliament, Intituled, An Act for Raising the Sum of 1238750 £. for Supply of his Majesties present Occasions, be expired, unless it shall appear that the Obsinacy of the Dutch shall render it necessary: Nor before this Kingdom be effectually Secured from the Danger of Popery and Popish Counsels, and Counsellors, and the other present Grievances be Redressed.

This

This last Vote nettled the Court not a little (which only stands in need of Parliaments to raise Money) and therefore were resolved to give them one Remove more, but that it might not seem altogether upon the Account of denying Money, they let the Parliament proceed: Who on *Monday* thea following, attended his Majesty with the second Address, with Reasons against the Marriage (they being at that time assured that it was not so far concluded, but that for Reason of State it might have been Rejected, as it hath been practised in several Nations, and even by the *French* themselves in several Examples, (as do manifest y appear in the *French* *Lustories*) And to the end the Reader may take notice thereof, I have here inserted it.

" We your Majesties most Humble and Loyal Subjects, the
 " Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, being
 " full of Assurance of your Majesties Gracious Intentions to
 " provide for the Establishment of Religion, and the pre-
 " servation of your People in Peace and Security; and fore-
 " seeing the dangerous Cosequences which may follow the
 " Marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, with
 " the Princess of *Modena*, or any other of the Popish Reli-
 " gion: Do hold our selves bound in Conscience and Duty
 " to Represent the same to your Sacred Majesty, not doub-
 " ting but those constant Testimonies which we have given
 " your Majesty, of our True and Loyal Affections to your
 " Sacred Person, will easily gain a Belief that these our hum-
 " ble Desires proceed from Hearts still full of the same Af-
 " fection toward your Sacred Majesty, and with Intentions
 " to Establish your Royal Government upon those true Sup-
 " ports of the Protestant Religion; and the Hearts of your
 " People with all Humility desiring your Majesty to take
 " the same into your Princely Consideration, and to Relieve
 " your Subjects from those Fears and Apprehensions which
 " at present they Lie under, from the progress hath been
 " made in that Treaty.

" We do therefore humbly Beseach your Majesty to Consider,
 " that if this Marriage do proceed, it will be a means to
 " Disquiet the Minds of your Protestant Subjects at Home,
 and

(25)

" and to fill them with encl's Jealousies and Discontents.
 " and will bring your Majesty into such Alliances abroad, as
 " will prove highly prejudicial if not destructive, to the
 " very Interest of the Protestant Religion it self.
 " And we find by sad Experience, that such Marriages have Increa-
 " sed and Encouraged Popery in this Kingdom, and given
 " opportunities to Priests and Jesuites to propagate their
 " Opinions, and Seduce great numbers of your Majesties
 " Subjects.
 " And we do already observe, how much that party is Animated
 " with the hopes of ths Match, who were lately Discoura-
 " ged by your Majesties Gracious Concussions, in the last
 " meeting of this Parliament.
 " That we greatly fear this may be an occasion to lessen the Af-
 " fections of the People to his Royal Highness, who is so
 " nearly Related to the Crown, and whose Honour and
 " Esteem we desire always be intirely preserved.
 " That for another Age more at least, this Kingdom will be un-
 " der the continual Apprehensions of the Growth of Popery,
 " and the Danger of the Protestant Religion.
 " Lastly we consider that this Princess having so near a Relation,
 " and Kindred to many eminent persons of the Court of
 " Rome, may give them great opportunities to promote their
 " Designs, and carry on their practices amongst us; and by
 " the same means penetrate into your Majesties most secret
 " Counsels, and more easily discover the state of the whole
 " Kingdom.
 " And finding that by the Opinions of very Learned Men, it is
 " generally Admitted, that such Treaties and Contracts by
 " Proxie are dissolvable, of which there are several Instances
 " to be produced: We do in all Humbleness beseech your
 " Majesty to put a stop to the Consummation of this intend-
 " ed Marriage.
 " And this we do the more Importunately desire, because we
 " have not as yet the happiness to see any Issue of your Majes-
 " ty that may Succeed in the Government of these King-
 " doms; which Blessing we most heartily pray Almighty
 " God in His due time to Bestow upon your Majesty and
 " these

these Kingdoms to the unspeakable Joy and Comfort
of all your Majesties Loyal Subjects, who desire nothing
but to continue under the Reigns of your Majesty
and your Royal Posterity for ever.

Whereunto his Majesty returned this Answer, That he would consider therof, and give a speedy Answer therunto: But in stead of an Answer, he the next day Prorogued the Parliament to the 7th. of January following: But first Spake to them in this manner.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I need not tell you, how unwillingly I call you hither at this time, being enough sensible what advantages my Enemies both abroad and at home will reap by the least appearance of a difference betwixt me and my Parliament, say being assured, they expect more success from such a Breach (could they procure it) then from their Arms.

This I say, shall (whilst I live) be my chief endeavour to prevent, and for that reason I think it necessary to make a short Recess, that all good men may collect themselves against the next Meeting, and consider, whether the present posture of Affairs will not rather require their applications to matters of Religion, and Support against our only Competitors at Sea, then to things of less importance; and in the mean while, I will not be wanting to let all my Subjects see, that no care can be greater then my own, in the effectual suppressing of Popery; And it shall be your fault, if in your several Countries the Laws be not effectually executed against the Growth of it.

I will not be idle either in some things which may add to your Satisfaction, and then I shall expect a suitable Return from you.

You see here his Majesties unwillingness to part without Money, and a so to leave the French, his trusty Friends, all your Grievances must be for this Post pon'd; those are but Trifles, if difference arise 'tis your faults that do insist on things of small Importance; Therefore

fore Recollect your selves, that is resolve, That *Delenda est Carthago*, and to Advance the *French Interest*, that there be no need of Parliaments; Religion is concerned it seems (but which we know not) and Reformation promised, such as will make us all his Debtors, let's therefore state the Account, that you may pay what is owing.

	l. s. d.
1. For turning out my Lord Chancellor for deserting the French and Popish Interest.	3500000.
2. For making Sir Heneage Finch Lord Keeper, and giving him 4000 <i>l. per annum</i> , to espouse the <i>French Interest</i> , and for his Aversion to the privilege of the Subject, by <i>Habeas Corpus</i> ; calling it a knack, which he would have no man make use of.	500000.
And for his single Advice on the late Chancellors refusing to Seal a new Commission for the Duke of York to Evale the late Act against Property. That Commissions might be Surrendered and Renewed every 3 Months without taking the Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, and for being the Head of the 88 that declared themselves for the Dukes Marriage with the late Cardinal Mazaree's Neece, and the first of the Triumvirate, which against the Judgment of the whole House, and the Religion and Interest of the Nation, Voted for Money the last Session.	500000.
3. For the honest endeavour of the <i>Cabal</i> , to seduce Members of Parliament, and making them undertakers to get Money.	500000.
4. For the Credit procured to the Nation by one of our Plen potentiaries by going to High Mass with the Bishop of Cologne.	200000.

5. For Marrying his Highness (the undoubted Successor to the Crown) to an Adopted Daughter of the *Pope* and the *French King*. } 500000.

6. For providing an Admiral who never took the Sacrament, nor made the Renuntiation according to the late Act of Parliament. } 200000.

7. For the Courage and Resolution of the *Caball*, in-trusting the *French* once more, who lately by their treachery, hazarded our whole Naval Strength. } 200000.

8. For the Duchess of *Modena* slighting our *English* Ladies for professing the Protestant Religion; and Propheysing our Conversion within one year. } 200000.

9. For the *Caball's* good intention to protect the Papists estates, which might if they were convicted, Supply his Majesty. } 100000.

For the prudent disposing of the Nations Money given the last Session of Parliament, according to the following Account, Since *My*, 17th. 1673.

A Warrant to the Earle of <i>Arlington</i> ,	010000:00:00
To the Duke of <i>Buckingham</i> ,	002032:00:00
To the Earle of <i>Berks</i> ,	003000:00:00
To the Earle of <i>St. Albans</i> ,	002500:00:00
To the Lord <i>Buckhurst</i> ,	004400:00:00
To the <i>privy Purſe</i> .	039000:00:00
To Sir <i>Jobs Wardens</i> ,	001090:00:00
To <i>Thomas Elliot</i> ,	006000:00:00
To Sir <i>Robert P_{le}</i> ,	000900:00:00
To the Lord <i>Grandison</i> ,	000500:00:00
To the Ear'e of <i>Bristol</i> ,	002120:00:00
	To

	l. s. d.
To the Earle of <i>Arlington</i> ,	003338:00:00
To Mr. <i>Harbord</i>	009000:00:00
To Sir <i>Robert Holmes</i> ,	000690:09:04
To the Duke of <i>Landerdale</i> ,	001000:00:00
To the Lady <i>Falmouth</i> ,	011289:00:00
To Sir <i>John Duncomb</i> ,	002000:00:00
Defaulked to Sir <i>George Carteret</i> ,	163036:00:00
To the Earle of <i>Oxford</i> ,	002000:00:00

To the Marquess of *Worcester*, 001200:00:00

Granted to the Dutchesse of *Cleveland* and her
Children for ever, out of the Wine Licence } 203400:00:00
Office, 11300*l.* per annum, at 18 years purchase.

To the Earle of *Burb* and his Heirs, out of
the pretension of time, the yearly Sume of } 054000:00:00
3000*l.* at 18 years purchase.

Granted to the Lord *Clifford* and his Heirs Males,
a Fee-farm Rent, payable out of the Church of } 2610. 00:00
Exeter 145*l.* per ann. at 18 years purchase.

More to the Lord *Clifford*, 020000:00:00

A pension to the Earle of *Anglesey*, during life, } 021000:00:00
3000*l.* per. an. payable by the Treasurer of the Navy.

A pension to the Lady *Falmouth*, of 1000*l.* per. an. 007000:00:00

A pension to Sir *John Holmes*, of 500*l.* per. an. 003500:00:00

A pension to *Henry Savile*, of 500*l.* per. an. 003500:00:00

A pension to the Earl of *Arlington*, of 2000*l.* per. an. 014000:00:00

A pension to the Duke of *Monmouth*, of 6000*l.* } 042000:00:00
per annum.

A pension to the Lord *Obion*, of 100*l.* per annum. 700 : 00:00

A Donative to the Earl of St. Albans, in trust for Richard Talbot of 2000 l. per annum. l. s. d. 14000.

A pension to Hamilton 350 l. per ann. 2450.

To the Duchess of Cleveland, Eldest Daughter, in case it could not be readily paid out of the Exchequer, then to be charged upon the remaining part of the Woods of the Forrest of Dean. 20000.

To the Duchess of Cleveland, the renewing of the Dutchy of Lancasters Leases, amounting to 40000.

To the Lord Clifford, upon the Surrender of his Office of Treasurer of England, a pension during Life of 8000 l. per ann. 560000.

To the Earl of Oxford, and his Lady 2000 l. per ann. during their Lives, to be paid out of the First-Fruits Office. 20000.

A Grant made to the Marques of Worcester, and his two Sons, of the Office of High Steward of the Honour of Forrest, in the Counties of Nottingham and Derby, in trust for the Earl Marshal Howard. 14000.

In total valued at 805:55:09:04.

For continuing Pensions and Sallaries to timorous Papists, that have left their Employment, and for several marks of Favour privately shew them. 50000.

For his Majesties mild Proclamation Banishing Papists from Court, when by the Statute of the 29th of Elizabeth, they ought not to come within 10 Miles of London. 00 : 04 : 06

For taking of Protections from his Majesties Extraordinary Servants, who had dearly paid for that priviledg, and therefore were continued till almost the meeting of the Parliament, that they might be protected by Court Members.

For Burning French Hats, and modestly terming them in our *Gazzette* outlandish Hats, when at the same time the French Ambassador Lady, publicly Traded for at least 20000 *l. per annum*, in prohibited Comodities.

For Redreiling Grievances in *Ireland* according to the late Address,

For the Cabals Care and Diligence in granting Convoyes to our Coal Fleets, by reason whereof the extraordinary Charge of the City of *London*, hath Amouted to more then the Sum of 500000 *l.*

And now Gentlemen you are desired in His Majesties last Speech, to give a p. e. y. cheerful and perportionab'e Supply,

F I N I S.

The Reader is desired to Correct these Faults with some others, Committed in Printing.

Page 3. l. 1. after Parliament, add Assembled. l. 27. for Suspition, read Superstition, page 8. l. 4. for gotten, r. begotten. l. 8. delete the first, such. l. 12. for wherein, r. therein : p. 9. l. 1. for rig, r. right. p. 11. l. 24. delivers, r. deliverers : p. 18. l. 4. and, r. we : p. 19. l. 22. & 23. Interceal, r. Interval. p. 20. l. 1. Potion, r. Portion : l. 9. the, r. this : p. 21. l. 17. & 18. Purpose, r. Effect.